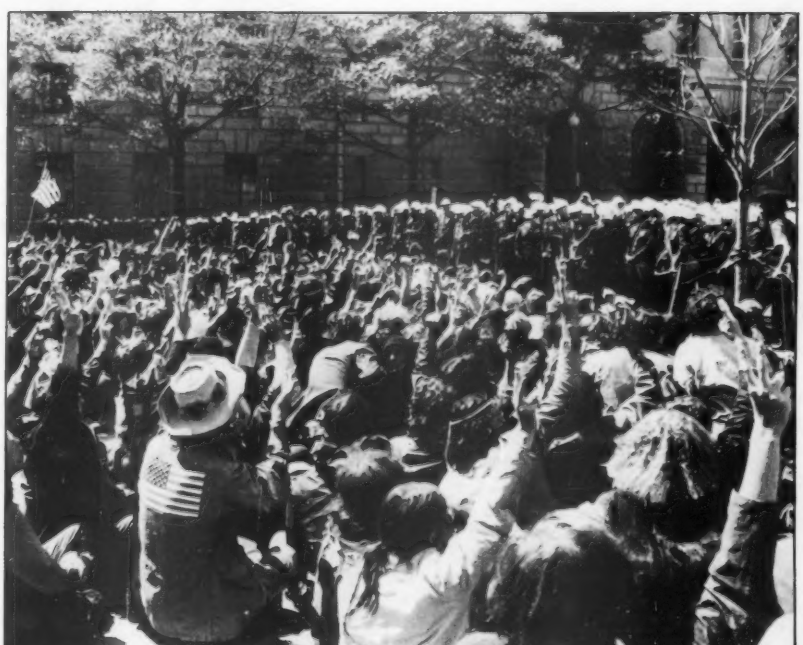
WRL News

ISSN: 0042-9791

No. 234 | The War Resisters League | January–February 1983

THE WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE: *60 Years of Nonviolent Action*

1941—*WRL forum held in Wall Street area. Photo by Harry Patton/Swarthmore.*



1971—*Sitdown at the Justice Department as part of anti-Indochina War May Day actions, of which WRL was a key national sponsor. Photo by UPI.*

Humanizing the Soviets

By David McReynolds

To "humanize" the Soviets does not mean I shall write only nice things about them. On the contrary, I shall write critical things about them—and ourselves. It is very natural for human beings to make their opponents into "total enemies"—it makes it much easier to kill them. It is hard to kill friends, easy to kill strangers. hard to believe that friends would betray us, easy to believe a stranger will do so.

We are as guilty of this "totalization" of feeling as anyone else. If Reagan thinks the KGB sends the orders to us—and it seems he really does believe this—then he belongs to the same collection of fools that includes the KGB itself, which thinks that the CIA is organizing the peace movement in the Soviet Bloc. But watch!—already, in writing about the need to humanize the enemy, I am terming Reagan a fool, and like most of us I am on the road to turning a man I disagree with into a "thing." You see how easy for us to act as if Reagan and all his co-workers were indifferent to human rights, lacking in decency? And isn't it easier for us to believe that the guerrillas in El Salvador are all brave and act from the highest motives, and to believe that *everyone* in the government is brutal?

Pacifists know better—we just keep forgetting, and that makes us, also, human. The problem of humanity is that all people are a mix of good and bad. I won't get into a theological argument over whether there might not exist people who are "totally evil" or "totally good"—perhaps there are, but they are rare, and I doubt they exist. During World War II A.J. Muste rose in a Quaker meeting and said, "If I can't love Hitler I can't love anyone." Was he a fool? No, he was trying to bear the terrible burden of love. Muste was a man who had been through the revolutionary Marxist movement, one of our most important American radicals during the depression. He was not naive. He had no illusions about Hitler. He was not "soft on Nazism."

What he was saying was the hard reality: if it is love which we believe in, it has no convenient limits. There is *no one* we can hate. *Things*, yes. Systems, institutions, yes. But not people. Racism, sexism, capitalism, prisons, poverty—all can be hated. But not people. Not Reagan. Not Andropov. Not even Hitler.

Pacifists not only oppose a great deal in our own society, but there is much in the Soviet system we also oppose. Certainly we oppose the concept of Leninism, of the central authority of a single political Party over the lives of a whole nation. In some ways WRL folks are "dissenters without a home," for there is no nation which meets our standards. (Nor, I think, will there ever be—it is our sense of the utopian vision which draws us forward—and makes us not quite easy with *any* society today.)

Therefore when I write about "humanizing the Soviets" I do not mean to suggest we have no disagreements with them. But I do suggest those disagreements must have a human dimension. I think back to the small personal exchange that took place when I landed in Moscow on the way back from Hanoi in 1971. At that time I smoked, and Russian cigarettes were terrible. However Vietnamese cigarettes were much worse and when I got off the plane in Moscow and found the Soviet tour-guide assigned to me I

continued on page 7

David McReynolds is a member of the WRL national staff.

Ranchers for Peace Take Their Message to the Soviet Union

From left to right: Doris Williams, John McNamer, Cecil Garland, Linda Kirkbride and Marvin Kamerer at their press conference in New York City before leaving for the Soviet Union.
Photo by Ed Hedemann

"The last time I travelled half-way around the world it was for war," said Montana rancher and Vietnam veteran John McNamer. "This time I'm proud to say I'll be travelling for peace."

John McNamer is one of five ranchers who are travelling to the Soviet Union. Marvin Kamerer, whose ranch in South Dakota borders the Ellsworth Air Force Base, calls their trip a "citizen's detente" to talk to Russian people—not to "bureaucratic heads of state"—about halting the nuclear arms race. Also making the trip are: Linda Kirkbride, whose land in Wyoming houses three Minute Man III missile silos; Cecil Garland, an environmentalist and naturalist who ranches in Wendover, Utah; and Doris Williams, who runs her own ranch in New Raymer, Colorado.

The five belong to a group called Ranchers for Peace. The ranchers first began meeting to exchange information about the development and potential placement of the MX missile in the western states. Their concerns have grown and they are committed to finding ways to establish greater understanding among peoples, to promote peace and to facilitate nuclear disarmament. They believe that the nuclear arms race crosses national, ideological and political lines and that people from all lands must work together to eliminate the threat of nuclear war.

While the ranchers were in New York before leaving for the Soviet Union, Grace Hane of the War Resisters League staff helped coordinate their media work. A press conference was held the day before they left and the fruits of this labor was coverage on National Public Radio, an interview on the Today show, coverage on the CBS national

continued on page 7

Civil Defense—Weak Link in the Nuclear Armour

By Ed Hedemann

By now most people in the movement are probably aware of some of the more absurd aspects of the Federal government's post-nuclear war civil defense program. For example, the Postal Service plans to distribute "Emergency Change of Address Cards." Over 70,000 pounds of the 130,000 pound goal of opium are currently being stored in readiness. All food manufacturers will be required to cut their sugar use in half. A Presidential proclamation that a state of war exists has been drafted with a few blanks (e.g., the date and name of the enemy). Provisions have been made for the clearance of checks that have been drawn on destroyed banks. If a nuclear attack interrupts regular payroll procedures, special payroll checks (distinctively colored) should be preissued and stored in order to hand out on post-attack paydays. All banks are encouraged to continue selling U.S. Savings Bonds. A 30% sales tax would be put into effect to raise money for government operations. Among the things to take with you in an evacuation should include credit cards, toilet paper, and your will. One government study points out that without the goal of trying to preserve traditional American values in post-attack society "there is no reason for fighting."

All this planning is based on the premise that the U.S. can fight and survive a nuclear war. The basic rationale is that in order to improve the chances of recovery in a post-attack society, as much planning as possible needs to be accomplished in advance. "If lives can be saved by civil defense, isn't it worth it?"

However, there are at least four reasons why this civil defense program makes nuclear war more likely. First, if the U.S. starts evacuating its cities, the Soviet Union (or any other potential adversary) will not stand idly by and calmly watch the proceedings. They may be tempted to launch a preemptive strike to avoid being taken by surprise. In other words, the appearance of an effective civil defense program helps create a hair-trigger situation.

Second, an adversary will attempt to develop better offensive weapons to overcome the civil defense measures, thereby contributing to the escalation of the arms race. A stronger defense encourages a stronger offense in response.

Third, a government which feels nuclear war is survivable is a government less reluctant to start a nuclear war.

And fourth, a population which feels psychologically prepared to survive a nuclear war is less likely to protest preparations for a nuclear war.

Since 1950 the U.S. has spent $2.6 billion on civil defense. Now the Reagan administration has proposed spending $4 billion for a crash seven-year civil defense program, which will be administered by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). Total costs are projected to exceed $10 billion. The program is designed to relocate two-thirds of the population, provide for the continuity of normal government function, construct fallout shelters for those that must remain behind, and protect a significant portion of the industrial machinery. A major goal of the Administration is to lessen the American people's horror of nuclear war by preparing them to survive it. The Center for Defense Information has aptly observed that civil defense is being sold to the American people as a humanitarian program, while in fact the plans are to mobilize the society to make nuclear troops out of the citizenry.* Civil defense is now considered a weapon and an integral part of U.S. nuclear strategy.

Opposition to the civil defense program has been growing since President Carter revitalized it in 1978. But mostly the opposition in Congress and among the general public has taken the form of ridicule, which is certainly easy to engage in. In the past, fallout shelters were the primary strategy for civil defense, but this has been rejected as too costly and ineffective, except for limited situations. So "crisis relocation" is the main mechanism; but that, of course, takes hours—if not days—so would have to be begun before a nuclear exchange.

Though crisis relocation is supposedly a voluntary plan, communities have been put under great pressure to adopt the plan. (For example, FEMA has implied that rejection of the plan means a community will not be eligible for any disaster aid for floods, etc.) Nevertheless, numerous county boards and city councils have rejected it. In fact, several communities have issued booklets to their constituents warning them of the dangers of nuclear war and explaining why they have rejected participation in the plan.

A number of organizations have done extensive research and educational work on civil defense (such as, Traprock Peace Center in Deerfield, Massachusetts, Center for Defense Information in Washington, D.C., and Civil Defense Awareness in Cambridge, Massachusets). Physicians for Social Responsibility have developed some effective programs in their opposition to hospital participation in nuclear war planning. The Oakland school board recently rejected a curriculum developed by FEMA for high school students. On August 9 three Atlanta fallout shelters were occupied by four affinity groups. This resulted in the removal of the fallout shelter signs on city and county buildings, and a promise to study FEMA's plans.

However, these efforts do not accurately reflect a concern by the peace movement. Most peace groups pay little heed to civil defense issues, simply dismissing them as ridiculous. Though they are indeed absurd, we're missing a golden opportunity.

While it is fine and well to educate, protest, and demonstrate against nuclear war, we need a strategy. A strategy gives us a "handle" to deal with a complex or very broad problem. A way to tackle the nuclear arms race is to focus on a weak link in the nuclear war planning; undermine that weak link and thereby (hopefully) erode the ability of the Government to continue the nuclear arms race. A good campaign is one which maximizes citizen participation.

The Freeze, Jobs With Peace, the MX Campaign, and opposition to the Cruise/Pershing missiles are all strategies with various specific goals. A national campaign which focuses on civil defense, however, would have two important advantages over existing strategies: 1) it's easy to convince people that civil defense is a bad program, and 2) every community has readily identifiable connections to that program (e.g., civil defense signs and fallout shelters). Civil defense is a "weak link" and its presence is everywhere.

The War Resisters League has begun exploring the possibility of a national campaign on civil defense. A couple of small, preliminary meetings have been held with a few sympathetic organizations. A national conference may be scheduled sometime this year to initiate a campaign. The WRL office will report here or in other mailings on any new developments.

"The Moral Majority is neither" reads one button; another could just as well read "Civil defense is neither."

Ed Hedemann is a member of the the WRL national staff.

* *The Defense Moniter*, volume XI, number 5, 1982.

WRL NEWS

Published by the War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012, 212-228-0450.

WRL is the U.S. branch of the War Resisters' International, a pacifist organization with affiliates in 18 countries.

Staff: Karl Bissinger
Ralph DiGia
Grace Hedemann Hane
Ed Hedemann
David McReynolds
Lisa Miller
Susan Pines
Igal Roodenko

WRL News (from 1967 on) is available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE: Sixty Years of Nonviolent Action

By Wendy Schwartz

"What did you say WRL stands for?"
The War Resisters League.
Oh yeah. That's a real old group—it's been around since Vietnam."

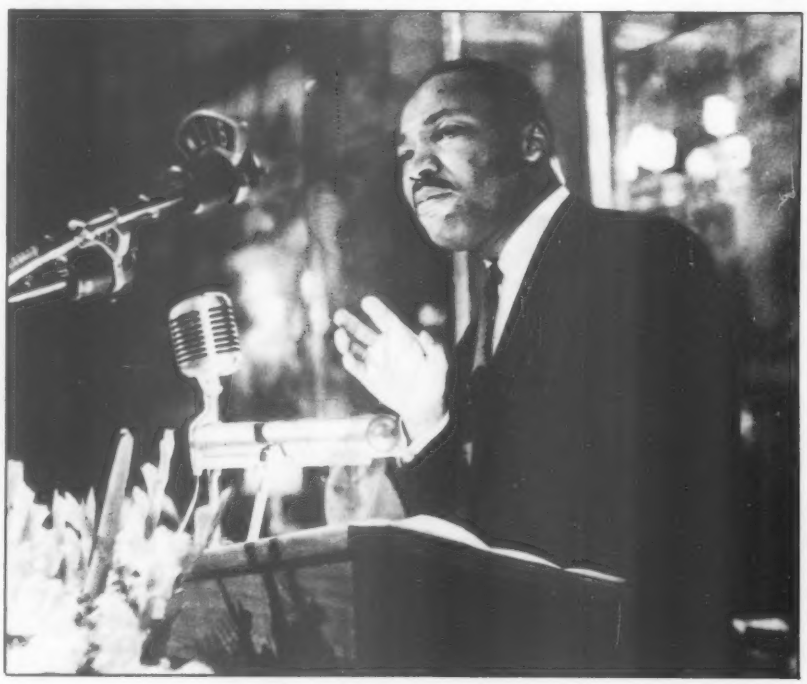
Memories may be short, but the War Resisters League's history is long. This year we will commemorate our sixtieth anniversary of nonviolent action. Founded in 1923, when the pain of World War One was still acute and the desire for eternal peace stronger than ever before, the League has been working tenaciously for disarmament ever since. Our aniversary, on March 29th, is a milestone we view with mixed feelings. We are proud that WRL's direct action campaigns have moved the country a few tiny steps closer to lasting peace, and that an ever-increasing number of people express their commitment to pacifism and social and economic justice by joining WRL. But we are also disappointed that the road to our goals has proved to be such a long and winding one, with an end still so far away.

The best tribute to the League's sixty years of work for peace is to build on our accomplishments. Indeed, our aim is to put WRL out of business—before we pass our seventy-fifth anniversary, if we are especially successful, but certainly before our centennial. We will, therefore, spend this year doing what we have done best—nonviolent organizing around a variety of crucial social issues.

The draft and military recruitment is one such issue, and WRL has been committed to the end of both since its founding by Jessie Wallace Hughan, who had previously founded the Anti-Enlistment League which sought to prevent U.S. participation in World War One. Even during World War Two, when public support for the military was overwhelming, the League remained staunchly opposed to the draft and offered nearly all the political support that resisters and conscientious objectors were to receive in that period. Later, when draft resistance became more popular, WRL intensified its efforts, and can take a good deal of the credit for the end of the last draft in 1972. Now that registration for men has returned, and there is an economic draft of poor and minority men and women, the League's expertise and experience is again in demand. Our national staff includes resisters and activists from each of the last three wars, and they consider anti-military work—both draft resistance and the demand for civilian jobs for unemployed young people—a priority. In just the last few months of last year, the staff organized an anti-draft conference and a civil disobedience action at Selective Service Headquarters in Washington.

Providing another kind of fodder for the cannons of war are federal taxes, and WRL has traditionally opposed the military use of these monies. While the government has never provided adequate human services, the Reagan Administration is transferring many of the limited funds previously earmarked for the needy to the military-industrial complex. That the WRL *Guide to War Tax Resistance* is one of our best sellers is a sure sign that the public is tired of paying for war. So, to protest feeding the MX and the Trident before the hungry and homeless in our country, and to commemorate the League's anniversary, we are urging people to withhold 6¢, or $6, or $60, or more from their 1983 income taxes and to write a letter to the Internal Revenue Service saying why.

Tax resistance and draft resistance are both components of the League's commitment to the abolition of war. To promote disarmament and to demonstrate the futility of defense when there exists in the world enough nuclear weapons to destroy us all several times over, the League will begin a national campaign against the government's civil defense program. Designed to educate the public that there can never be enough shovels to protect us from the effects of nuclear bombs, and to demonstrate to the government that we will not be satisfied until all weapons are beaten into plowshares, the campaign will incorporate a series of steps, ranging from educational presentations to direct action. Details are now being worked out in conjunction with other disarmament organizations; please write the League if you want to help organize the project. In this area, too, WRL has an illustrious history. In the 1950s, the League, with other New York peace groups, organized resistance to the national civil defense alert by refusing to take shelter. Within five years of the first protest, so many people were committing civil disobedience in City Hall Park that the air raid drills were discon-



1959—*Martin Luther King, Jr., addressed WRL Annual Dinner.*
Photo by David McReynolds

Wendy Schwartz is the director of the A.J. Muste Memorial Institute and a member of the Executive Committee of the War Resisters League.

tinued. The League looks forward to similar resistance now to the whole Reagan civil defense package.

First, our national conference, to be held in the New York area during the summer, will be larger than usual and will be dedicated to discussion of our long-range plans for peace. Our fiftieth anniversary conference in California drew over five hundred people and sparked ideas and plans that kept people energized long after it was over. We hope this summer's gathering will be equally successful, and we will send you particulars as soon as they are available so you can set aside vacation time for attending it.

We will also hold a series of events to promote disarmament and nonviolence. The League has hired Ritty Burchfield to coordinate these, and among the programs planned are multi-media cultural events, teach-ins, and a party or two. You will receive information on them as the programs are finalized.

Finally, WRL is undertaking a special fund raising drive to wipe out our deficit and create a modest financial cushion. The League recently received a generous gift earmarked to help lower our deficit, because, as the donor put it, "such a large deficit is not only a financial burden, but a psychological drain as well." We agree, and hope that you all will be especially generous in 1983, so our hope of putting the League out of business—because our goals have all been met—will be realized.

60th Anniversary National Conference

The War Resisters League will hold its 60th Anniversary National Conference July 14–17 at Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania. Easton is on the New Jersey-Pennsylvania border about 75 miles due west of New York City. This will be the closest a WRL national conference has ever been to New York. A brochure and other materials are currently in production. Please reserve these dates for what should be one of the largest conferences ever held by WRL.

An end to war obviously means an end to the causes of war, and in recent years the League has begun to understand that this requires an end to patriarchal rule. Therefore, we are now striving to create a society based on the feminist principles of cooperation, support, and egalitarianism. The earliest core or WRLers were women with a strong feminist vision, so our current promotion of the relationship between feminism and nonviolence is simply a reaffirmation of the principles on which the League was founded.

Like feminism, WRL's commitment to racial justice was given lower priority for a time as our attention was focused on increasing worldwide militarism. Our history, however, is strong here—WRL people were among the first to participate in civil rights activities (such as the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation to integrate interstate bus travel)—and will inform our renewed commitment to justice for minorities. The League's efforts for economic equality are an integral part of our anti-racism work, for minority people suffer disproportionately from poverty and joblessness. We are now preparing a proposal for funding for a new staff mamber to work solely on racial and economic issues.

While the League has never been too concerned with organization building—we have believed it is more important to promote peace than to promote ourselves—we do want to publicize our work and our history this year. Countless peace organizations have come and gone since 1923—many of them effective and with large constituencies for a time—but few have been as steadfast as War Resisters League. Often the League's long-term work, which is on so many fronts at once, has been overlooked in favor of a new *ad hoc* group. While we understand that the need of these single-issue groups seems more compelling at times, we want to take the time this year to publicize our sixty-year history of pacifist action. We want to reach new people—among them the million-plus who marched for peace last June 12th—and invite them to make a commitment to nonviolence. We have planned some special activities to commemorate our anniversary and to complement the projects described above.

1976—*Gail Pressberg and William Douthard lead WRL-initiated Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice to Pentagon. Photo by Janet Charles.*

Coda: It is traditional for this issue of the *WRL News* carry a tribute to A.J. Muste (1885–1967), who was not only a central figure in the War Resisters League but who helped shape the very concept of radical pacifism in the twentieth century. His commitments to peace, racial justice, the labor movement, and progressive religious doctrine have been an inspiration to all who knew him. They are also the principles which define the programs and grants of the A.J. Muste Memorial Institute, a foundation established with public funds in his honor. Also in this issue we annually note our debt to William Douthard (1947–1981), whose commitment to racial and economic justice prodded our own. This year our tributes to them will be not simply this mention in the *News*, but rather our work all year long as we strive to make a reality the dreams that guided their lives.

Continuing the Resistance

By Susan Pines

The new ad campaign is simple and direct. Posters and ads that have been appearing around the country state, "Selective Service Registration: It's Quick, It's Easy, And It's The Law." Alongside appears a picture of four young men, of varying ethnic backgrounds, happily showing off their registration forms.

There are many reasons why Selective Service has begun to step up its advertising for draft registration and become more visible to the public. But the main reason for the renewed activity to enforce compliance with the registration laws is the fact that (though anti-draft activists place non-cooperation figures higher), by the government's own estimation, one in ten eligible young men have refused to register.

Indictments and Dismissals

As of January 1983, there have been 13 indictments for failing to register. This number is far less than Selective Service's promise last summer of hundreds of indictments (and many resisters being in jail by this time).

So far, six men have been convicted of refusal to register. But the main thorn in the government's side has been two cases that have been dismissed and are now being appealed by the government.

In Los Angeles, David Wayte had his case dismissed on two grounds. Federal District Judge Terry Hatter ruled that the executive order requiring registration was invalid because President Carter, in issuing it, had violated a 30-day public notice requirement. Judge Hatter also ruled that the case violated the Constitutional ban on "selective prosecution" because of evidence that the Government had indicted only men who publicly proclaimed their defiance of the law.

Rusty Martin of Iowa had his case dismissed by Federal District Judge Edward McManus on the grounds that Rusty, and other men, had no "continuing duty" to register beyond a short period after their 18th birthdays.

Both of these cases are now in the Federal Appeals court, and will most likely eventually be appealed to the Supreme Court. If the District court's rulings are upheld, it will make the current draft registration program unenforceable.

In the meantime, the government has issued no further indictments for failure to register for the draft.

Resistance Actions—October 18 Blockade at Selective Service

On October 18 (a week after Ben Sasway was sentenced to two and a half years in prison for his refusal to register), 62 people were arrested while attempting to blockade "business as usual" at Selective Service headquarters in Washington. This action, organized by the WRL, the Friends Peace Committee, National Resistance Committee, Mobilization for Survival, plus many local draft groups such as the Washington Peace Center, Massachusetts Open Resistance, Upstate (New York) Resistance and others, was an attempt to challenge the draft system rather than a response to any single indictment or conviction.

WRLer and non-registrant Nick DeMarco burns a draft registration card during demonstration at Selective Service.
Photo by Grace Hedemann Hane

The Blockade on October 18 was part of a weekend of activities in Washington of resistance to the military. On Sunday morning, before the action, nonviolence training was held. In the afternoon, a panel discussion on the theme of creating a community of resistance addressed issues not only of registration and draft resistance past and present, but also talked about the kinds of resistance those who were not male and 18-years-old could engage in. Among the issues discussed were war tax resistance, and direct actions for disarmament and against militarism. That evening, an interreligious service was held (coordinated by the Religious Task Force of the Mobilization for Survival). The religious witness ended with a candlelight march and vigil at Selective Service.

On the morning of October 18 several hundred demonstrators gathered in downtown Washington and marched to the Selective Service's new headquarters (in an expensive section of Georgetown). When they arrived, the blockaders were met by over 100 police in front of the main doors of the building.

As demonstrators tried to reach the doors to sit-in, they were arrested. Meanwhile, supporters stood on a small hill overlooking the building, chanting, leafletting passers-by and burning draft registration cards. Sixty-two arrests were made, including indicted non-registrants Russ Ford and Ed Hasbrouck, and WRL staffers Lisa Miller, Ralph DiGia and Susan Pines.

Those arrested were charged with a misdemeanor and most were released on $50 collateral early that evening. Those refusing to post collateral were held over until the next day for arraignment.

Although the blockade was not as large as anticipated, the action got good media coverage. Most blockaders found it not at all ironic that Selective Service picked October 18 to announce that a return to the draft would be unlikely for at least the next five years.

Other Selective Service Tactics

Meanwhile, Selective Service is moving ahead, trying to get all those who are legally required to, to sign up. The IRS has provided a real service. By comparing Social Security files with the list of those already registered, IRS was able to come up with the names of many non-registrants.

The IRS then sent out letters to all the names that didn't match up, but so far has only turned over a random 200 of those names and addresses to Selective Service. The problem? The IRS itself is not sure of the legality of handing over the information. Lawyers will be ready to challenge this use of IRS files in case of prosecution.

Selective Service has also obtained drivers license lists from 44 states (the other states have privacy laws which don't allow them to turn over this information) and late this year mailed out over 150,000 warning letters to names that were not on their list of registrants.

All of these different letters are *not* prosecution notice. If you receive one, there is no imminent threat of indictment.

Perhaps most threatening to non-registrants is the law that will go into effect next year denying federally subsidized student loans to those not complying with the draft laws. Only a handful of colleges have made a commitment to make up any federal aid a student loses because of his failure to register.

Although draft registration is not much in the news these days, it is clear that the government is moving ahead to enforce its program. Only by continuing to speak, loudly and clearly, against a draft, for disarmament, for the use of our money for jobs for peace, not for war, will we ensure that our government does not have the smooth sailing it envisioned to wage war in the future.

Susan Pines is a member of the WRL national staff.

Humanizing the Soviets

continued from page 2

forgot all my political disagreements with the Soviet system and said, "Could I have a Russian cigarette?" "Here," he said, "take my pack." And then I said, "Would you like these Vietnamese cigarettes?" And he laughed and I could see he had tried them before. He thanked me and said no thanks. For a moment our "addiction" had lifted us over political boundaries.

Some years earlier the Soviets had sent across one of their groups of peace workers, and they were primarily interested, as usual, in talking with the more "established" peace groups—not with little radical groups such as ours. But Igal Roodenko and I were determined the Russians would see a part of Manhattan they would not otherwise see, and we met them at their hotel and took them on a guide of the East Village by night, the slums and bars. They were very cautious, and drank very little. But again, there was that tentative human exchange. One of the group—Olga Tuganova—walked with me just a little ahead of the other three Russians, who lagged behind with Igal. I jokingly said to Olga, "Perhaps the others are afraid you'll defect if we get too far ahead," and she laughed. Later we exchanged letters about our differing views of art—abstract and socialist realist (and when I got my CIA file I found it contained those private letters about art!).

The job of pacifists is not to pretend disagreements do not exist, but to reach out to the human beings behind those disagreements. There are political prisoners in the Soviet Union (and in China, and South Africa, and South Korea, etc., etc.). We are false in our love of humanity if we are silent on the issue of Sakharov. But we betray the values of humanity for which Sakharov himself has risked so much if we see *all* of the Soviet system as evil. It is made up of men and women seeking, for the most part, to do the best they can, not only for themselves but for their people.

An American religious leader has said that if the worship of God dies out in the Soviet Union the reason will not be the the power of the Communist Party, but rather the willingness of the American government to drop nuclear weapons, killing tens of millions of devout Soviet Christians.

I am irritated at those sectors of the American peace movement which are afraid to speak of disagreements we have with the Soviets for fear it will stir up anti-Soviet feeling. Our job is to speak the truth and keep the disagreements in perspective. Which means humility. Soviet action in Afghanistan needs to be opposed—but we need also to keep in mind the vastly bloodier American actions in Vietnam. None of us was willing to drop a bomb on the White House during that long criminal adventure. How can we be party to plans to drop nuclear weapons all over the Soviet Union?

If we can be honest with ourselves, and our own history of slavery, of imperialism, of violence in smashing unions, of a rigidly patriarchal society, and yet—while still being honest—know how exciting life can be here in the "center" of things—and if we can remember how much we have been able to change, can we not look at the Soviets and see them as being in some ways very much like ourselves, vastly complex, and very much worth sharing the planet with? What makes them human is not that they have no problems, *but that they have so many;* not that they have made no mistakes or committed no crimes, but that, *like us*, they have.

Only one who was mad would try to solve America's problem by exploding a nuclear bomb over Washington, D.C. Why, then, do we not see the madness of contemplating this action against the Soviet Union? Their errors, their wrongs, their confusions—these make them our sisters and brothers.

Ranchers for Peace

continued from page 2

news, an article in *The Washington Post* and others. Most of the ranchers had already had good coverage in their local media.

The ranchers plan, after their return to the United States, to go on tour and share their thoughts and feelings of their trip and their views on disarmament. If you would be interested in sponsoring them, setting up a meeting or a speaking engagement in your area, please let the WRL office know and we'll get you in touch with the coordinators of the tour.

Meanwhile, the ranchers are confident that their trip will at least have some effect. Says John McNamer, "There is a certain fascination with the American West—with cowboys, that will open doors that wouldn't be opened to city slickers in three-piece suits." And, as Linda Kirkbride summed up, "I expect to be stretched and grow and whatever we learn, I remain positive and hopeful."

—Susan Pines

Linnea Capps: New Chairwoman of the WRL

Linnea Capps.
Photo by David McReynolds

Starting in January, 1983, Linnea Capps will become the new chairperson of the War Resisters League. Linnea is a physician and worked in a neighborhood health center in Harlem in New York City. Linnea's involvement in WRL began more than 10 years ago when she helped organize the WRL Local in Columbia, MO. After moving to New York in 1977 to do her internship and residency at Harlem Hospital, she continued her active involvement in the League. In 1978 she participated in the Washington-Moscow action as one of the people who unfurled a banner on the White House lawn. Three years ago Linnea was elected to the Executive Committee and has spent much of her time working for the League and representing us in meetings and public events. Linnea is also an active member of the Physicians for Social Responsibility. As Linnea wrote in a recent letter to the National Committee of the WRL, one of her primary concerns is that "...we need to increase our efforts to reach out to and influence people who aren't (and may never be) pacifists, but who might be able to help us reach common goals."

At the same time that we welcome Linnea into her new position we want to extend thanks to our outgoing Chair, Norma Becker. Since 1977, Norma has served three consecutive terms as Chair of WRL. In that time she has been a key and influential person in making disarmament an issue in this country. Norma remains a member of the WRL Executive Committee and we look forward to continuing our work together in the future.

New study guide on nonviolent alternatives to the arms race. **U.S. Defense Policy: Mainstream Views and Nonviolent Alternatives** by Bob Irwin and Beverly Woodward. Nine-session guide for small groups (can be adapted for individual use and for use in college courses). Guide: $5.50 plus $2 postage/handling. Packet of recommended readings for the course (430 pages): $20 plus $3 postage/handling. Order from ISTNA, Box 515, Waltham, MA 02254.

WRL Regional & Local Offices

WRL National Office, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (212-228-0450)
WRL/Southeast, 604 West Chapel Hill St., Durham, NC 27701 (919-682-6374)
WRL/West, 85 Carl St., San Francisco, CA 94117 (415-731-1220)

ALABAMA
Birmingham WRL, 567-B Tyler Loop Rd., Pinson, AL 35126 (205-681-7034)
Mobile WRL, P.O. Box 6414, Mobile, AL 36606 (205-471-6008)

CALIFORNIA
Inland Empire WRL, 1336 North Wall Ave., San Bernardino, CA 92404 (714-889-3170)
Santa Barbara WRL, 7432 San Bergamo, Santa Barbara, CA 93117 (805-685-3404)
Southern California WRL, 541 N. Gower, Los Angeles, CA 90004

COLORADO
Foothills WRL, 3024 Ross Dr. #A-4, Ft. Collins, CO 80521 (303-482-9641)

CONNECTICUT
Norwich WRL, P.O. Box 1093, Norwich, CT 06360 (203-889-5337)

FLORIDA
Central Florida WRL, 2315 Ohio Dr., Orlando, FL 32803 (305-896-0703)

GEORGIA
Atlanta WRL, 1225 Cameron Court NE, Atlanta, GA 30306 (404-378-3237)

HAWAII
Hawaii WRL/catholic Action, 1918 University Ave., Honolulu, HI 96822 (808-949-1210)

IDAHO
Pocatello WRL, 603 South 10th St., Pocatello, ID 83201 (208-233-4541)

ILLINOIS
Oak Park WRL, 645 North Taylor, Oak Park, IL 60302 (312-386-0192)

INDIANA
Evansville WRL, c/o Clark Field, 420 S.E. 2nd St., #B, Evansville, IN 47713 (812-428-7996)
Muncie/Ball State WRL, P.O. Box 401, Student Center, Muncie, IN 47306
Citizens for Peace & Social Justice/WRL, 1312 W. Washington Blvd., Ft. Wayne, IN 46804

MICHIGAN
Detroit WRL, 1542 W. Alexandrine, Detroit, MI 48208 (313-833-3197)

MISSOURI
Columbia WRL, 509 Clinkscales Rd., Columbia MO 65201 (314-445-4348)
Ozarks Area WRL, 626 E. Normal, Springfield, MO 65807 (417-864-4078)
St. Louis WRL, 962 Warder, St. Louis, MO 63130 (314-726-4662)

NEW JERSEY
Monmouth County WRL, P.O. Box 131, Fair Haven, NJ 07701 (201-747-0566; 842-6539)
New Brunswick WRL, P.O. Box 1895, New Brunswick, NJ 08903 (201-846-5843)

NEW YORK
New York City WRL, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012
Rochester WRL, 713 Monroe Ave., Rochester, NY 14607 (716-244-7191)

NORTH CAROLINA
Triangle Area WRL, 604 W. Chapel Hill St., Durham, NC 27701 (919-682-6374; 489-0520)

PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia WRL/WTR, 2208 South St., Philadelphia, PA 19146 (215-545-4626)
Pittsburgh WRL, 5406 Bartlett St., Pittsburgh, PA 15217 (412-422-0377)

TEXAS
Dallas WRL, 2710 Woodmere, Dallas, TX 75233 (214-337-5885)

VERMONT
Lamoille Peace Coalition/WRL, P.O. Box 43, Johnson, VT 05656 (802-635-2618)

WEST VIRGINIA
Morgantown WRL, P.O. Box 744, Morgantown, WV 26505 (304-292-6528)

New Books Available from the War Resisters League

#921 **Reweaving the Web of Life.** Edited by **Pam McAllister.**
Essays on feminism and nonviolence.
. . . . . 440 pp., $8.95

#1337 **You Can't Hug With Nuclear Arms.** Edited by **Jennifer Warbug** and **Doug Lowe.**
A photo documentary of the activities on and surrounding the June 7, 12 & 14, 1982 disarmament days . . . $10.95

#1440 **Barefoot Gen—Vol. I**
#1441 **Barefoot Gen—Vol. II**
A seven year old boy from Hiroshima tells his story in cartoon format. Widely read in Japan, it presents a moving and (for Americans) unusual view of wartime Japan.
. . . . . $6.00/each vol.

Plus . . .

WRL has 30 remainder copies of Sidney Lens' autobiography **Unrepentant Radical.** They are available for $2.00 plus 86¢ postage.

And . . .

WRL will be distributing a new information packet on Lebanon put out by the National Emergency Committee on Lebanon. They're available for $2.00 plus postage.

order from:
War Resisters League
339 Lafayette St.
New York, NY 10012

WRL Statement of Purpose

The War Resisters League affirms that war is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive nonviolently for the removal of all the causes of war.

I support this statement and wish to enroll as a member of the War Resisters League.

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State ____ Zip ____

Send to **War Resisters League**
339 Lafayette Street
New York, NY 10012